

John Chrysostom  
THE  
CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA

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**Fathers of the Church.**—The word Father is used in the New Testament to mean a teacher of spiritual things, by whose means the soul of man is born again into the likeness of Christ: "For if you have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet not many fathers. For in Christ Jesus, by the gospel, I have begotten you. Wherefore I beseech you, be ye followers of me, as I also am of Christ" (I Cor., iv, 15, 16; cf. Gal., iv, 19). The first teachers of Christianity seem to be collectively spoken of as "the Fathers" (II Peter, iii, 4). Thus St. Irenæus defines that a teacher is a father, and a disciple is a son (iv, 41, 2), and so says Clement of Alexandria (Strom., I, i, 1). A bishop is emphatically a "father in Christ", both because it was he, in early times, who baptized all his flock, and because he is the chief teacher of his church. But he is also regarded by the early Fathers, such as Hegesippus, Irenæus, and Tertullian, as the recipient of the tradition of his predecessors in the see, and consequently as the witness and representative of the faith of his Church before Catholicity and the world. Hence the expression "the Fathers" comes naturally to be applied to the holy bishops of a preceding age, whether of the last generation or further back, since they are the parents at whose knee the Church of today was taught her belief. It is also applicable in an eminent way to bishops sitting in council, "the Fathers of Nicaea", "the Fathers of Trent". Thus Fathers have learnt from Fathers, and in the last resort from the Apostles, who are sometimes called Fathers in this sense: "They are your Fathers", says St. Leo, of the Princes of the Apostles, speaking to the Romans; St. Hilary of Arles calls them *sancti patres*; Clement of Alexandria says that his teachers, from Greece, Ionia, Coele-Syria, Egypt, the Orient, Assyria, Palestine, respectively, had handed on to him the tradition of blessed teaching from Peter, and James, and John, and Paul, receiving it "as son from father".

It follows that, as our own Fathers are the predecessors who have taught us, so the Fathers of the whole Church are especially the earlier teachers, who instructed her in the teaching of the Apostles, during her infancy and first growth. It is difficult to define the first age of the Church, or the age of the Fathers. It is a common habit to stop the study of the early Church at the Council of Chalcedon in 451. "The Fathers" must undoubtedly include, in the West, St. Gregory the Great (d. 604), and in the East, St. John Damascene (d. about 754). It is frequently said that St. Bernard (d. 1153) was the last of the Fathers, and Migne's "Patrologia Latina" extends to Innocent III, halting only on the verge of the thirteenth century, while his "Patrologia Græca" goes as far as the Council of Florence (1438-9). These limits are evidently too wide. It will be best to consider that the great merit of St. Bernard as a writer lies in his resemblance in style and matter to the greatest among the Fathers, in spite of the difference of period. St. Isidore of Seville (d. 636) and the Venerable Bede (d. 735) are

to be classed among the Fathers, but they may be said to have been born out of due time, as St. Theodore the Studite was in the East.

**THE APPEAL TO THE FATHERS.**—Thus the use of the term Fathers has been continuous, yet it could not at first be employed in precisely the modern sense of Fathers of the Church. In early days the expression referred to writers who were then quite recent. It is still applied to those writers who are to us the ancients, but no longer in the same way to writers who are now recent. Appeals to the Fathers are a subdivision of appeals to tradition. In the first half of the second century begin the appeals to the sub-Apostolic age: Papias appeals to the presbyters, and through them to the Apostles. Half a century later St. Irenæus supplements this method by an appeal to the tradition handed down in every Church by the succession of its bishops (Adv. Hær., III, i-iii), and Tertullian clinches this argument by the observation that as all the Churches agree, their tradition is secure, for they could not all have strayed by chance into the same error (Præscr., xxviii). The appeal is thus to Churches and their bishops, none but bishops being the authoritative exponents of the doctrine of their Churches. As late as 341 the bishops of the Dedication Council at Antioch declared: "We are not followers of Arius; for how could we, who are bishops, be disciples of a priest?"

Yet slowly, as the appeals to the presbyters died out, there was arising by the side of appeals to the Churches a third method: the custom of appealing to Christian teachers who were not necessarily bishops. While, without the Church, Gnostic schools were substituted for churches, within the Church, Catholic schools were growing up. Philosophers like Justin and most of the numerous second-century apologists were reasoning about religion, and the great catechetical school of Alexandria was gathering renown. Great bishops and saints like Dionysius of Alexandria, Gregory Thaumaturgus of Pontus, Firmilian of Cappadocia, and Alexander of Jerusalem were proud to be disciples of the priest Origen. The Bishop Cyprian called daily for the works of the priest Tertullian with the words "Give me the master". The Patriarch Athanasius refers for the ancient use of the word *διδασκαλος*, not merely to the two Dionysii, but to the priest Theognostus. Yet these priest-teachers are not yet called Fathers, and the greatest among them, Tertullian, Clement, Origen, Hippolytus, Novatian, Lucian, happen to be tinged with heresy; two became antipopes; one is the father of Arianism; another was condemned by a general council. In each case we might apply the words used by St. Hilary of Tertullian: "Sequenti errore detraxit scriptis probabilibus auctoritatem" (Comm. in Matt., v, 1, cited by Vincent of Lérins, 24).

A fourth form of appeal was better founded and of enduring value. Eventually it appeared that bishops as well as priests were fallible. In the second century

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Herbert Mann, Edward A. Charles G., eds. et al.  
Vol. VI p. 15  
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the bishops were orthodox. In the third they were often found wanting. In the fourth they were the leaders of schisms, and heresies, in the Meletian and Donatist troubles and in the long Arian struggle, in which few were found to stand firm against the insidious persecution of Constantius. It came to be seen that the true Fathers of the Church are those Catholic teachers who have persevered in her communion, and whose teaching has been recognized as orthodox. So it came to pass that out of the four "Latin Doctors" one is not a bishop. Two other Fathers who were not bishops have been declared to be Doctors of the Church, Bede and John Damascene, while among the Doctors outside the patristic period we find two more priests, the incomparable St. Bernard and the greatest of all theologians, St. Thomas Aquinas. Nay, few writers had such great authority in the Schools of the middle ages as the layman Boethius, many of whose definitions are still commonplaces of theology.

Similarly (we may notice in passing) the name "Father", which originally belonged to bishops, has been as it were delegated to priests, especially as ministers of the Sacrament of Penance. It is now a form of address to all priests in Spain, in Ireland, and, of recent years, in England and the United States.

*Papas* or *Papras*, Pope, was a term of respect for eminent bishops (e.g. in letters to St. Cyprian and to St. Augustine, —neither of these writers seems to use it in addressing other bishops, except when St. Augustine writes to Rome). Eventually the term was reserved to the bishops of Rome and Alexandria; yet in the East to-day every priest is a "pope". The Aramaic *abba* was used from early times for the superiors of religious houses. But through the abuse of granting abbeys *in commendam* to seculars, it has become a polite title for all secular clerics, even seminarists, in Italy, and especially in France, whereas all religious who are priests are addressed as "Father".

We receive only, says St. Basil, what we have been taught by the Holy Fathers; and he adds that in his Church of Caesarea the faith of the holy Fathers of Nicaea has long been implanted (Ep. cxi, 2). St. Gregory Nazianzen declares that he holds fast the teaching which he heard from the holy Oracles, and was taught by the holy Fathers. These Cappadocian saints seem to be the first to appeal to a real catena of Fathers. The appeal to one or two was already common enough; but not even the learned Eusebius had thought of a long string of authorities. St. Basil, for example (De Spir. S., ii, 29), cites for the formula "with the Holy Ghost" in the doxology, the example of Irenaeus, Clement and Dionysius of Alexandria, Dionysius of Rome, Eusebius of Caesarea, Cyprian, Africanus, the *preces lucernariae* said at the lighting of lamps, Athenagoras, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Firmilian, Meletius. In the fifth century this method became a stereotyped custom. St. Jerome is perhaps the first writer to try to establish his interpretation of a text by a string of exegetes (Ep. cxii, ad Aug.). Paulinus, the deacon and biographer of St. Ambrose, in the libellus he presented against the Pelagians to Pope Zosimus in 417, quotes Cyprian, Ambrose, Gregory Nazianzen, and the decrees of the late Pope Innocent. In 420 St. Augustine quotes Cyprian and Ambrose against the same heretics (C. duas Epp. Pel., iv). Julian of Eclanum quoted Chrysostom and Basil; St. Augustine replies to him in 421 (Contra Julianum, i) with Irenaeus, Cyprian, Reticus, Olympius, Hilary, Ambrose, the decrees of African councils, and above all Popes Innocent and Zosimus. In a celebrated passage he argues that these Western writers are more than sufficient, but as Julian had appealed to the East, to the East he shall go, and the saint adds Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Synod of Dicaopolis, Chrysostom. To these he adds Jerome (c. xxxiv): "Nor should you think Jerome, because he was a priest, is to be despised", and adds a eulogy. This is amusing, when

we remember that Jerome in a fit of irritation, fifteen years before, had written to Augustine (Ep. cxlii): "Do not excite against me the silly crowd of the ignorant, who venerate you as a bishop, and receive you with the honour due to a prelate when you declaim in the Church, whereas they think little of me, an old man, nearly decrepit, in my monastery in the solitude of the country."

In the second book "Contra Julianum", St. Augustine again cites Ambrose frequently, and Cyprian, Gregory Nazianzen, Hilary, Chrysostom; in ii, 37, he recapitulates the nine names (omitting councils and popes), adding (iii, 32) Innocent and Jerome. A few years later the Semipelagians of Southern Gaul, who were led by St. Hilary of Arles, St. Vincent of Lerins, and Bl. Cassian, refuse to accept St. Augustine's severe view of predestination because "contrarium putant patrum opinioni et ecclesiastico sensui". Their opponent St. Prosper, who was trying to convert them to Augustinianism, complains: "Obstinationem suam vetustate defendunt" (Ep. inter Aug. cccxv, 2), and they said that no ecclesiastical writer had ever before interpreted Romans quite as St. Augustine did—which was probably true enough. The interest of this attitude lies in the fact that it was, if not new, at least more definite than any earlier appeal to antiquity. Through most of the fourth century, the controversy with the Arians had turned upon Scripture, and appeals to past authority were few. But the appeal to the Fathers was never the most imposing *locus theologicus*, for they could not easily be assembled so as to form an absolutely conclusive test. On the other hand up to the end of the fourth century, there were practically no infallible definitions available, except condemnations of heresies, chiefly by popes. By the time that the Arian reaction under Valens caused the Eastern conservatives to draw towards the orthodox, and prepared the restoration of orthodoxy to power by Theodosius, the Nicene decisions were beginning to be looked upon as sacrosanct, and that council to be preferred to a unique position above all others. By 430, the date we have reached, the Creed we now say at Mass was revered in the East, whether rightly or wrongly, as the work of the 150 Fathers of Constantinople in 381, and there were also new papal decisions, especially the *tractoria* of Pope Zosimus, which in 418 had been sent to all the bishops of the world to be signed.

It is to living authority, the idea of which had thus come to the fore, that St. Prosper was appealing in his controversy with the Lerinese school. When he went to Gaul, in 431, as papal envoy, just after St. Augustine's death, he replied to their difficulties, not by reiterating that saint's hardest arguments, but by taking with him a letter from Pope St. Celestine, in which St. Augustine is extolled as having been held by the pope's predecessors to be "inter magistros optimos". No one is to be allowed to depreciate him, but it is not said that every word of his is to be followed. The disturbers had appealed to the Holy See, and the reply is "Desinat incessere novitas vetustatem" (Let novelty cease to attack antiquity!). An appendix is added, not of the opinions of ancient Fathers, but of recent popes, since the very same monks who thought St. Augustine went too far, professed (says the appendix) "that they followed and approved only what the most holy See of the Blessed Apostle Peter sanctioned and taught by the ministry of its prelates". A list therefore follows of "the judgments of the rulers of the Roman Church", to which are added some sentences of African councils, "which indeed the Apostolic bishops made their own when they approved them". To these *inviolabiles sanctiones* (we might roughly render "infallible utterances") prayers used in the sacraments are appended "ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi"—a frequently misquoted phrase—and in conclusion, it is declared that these testimonies of the Apostolic See

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are sufficient, "so that we consider not to be Catholic at all whatever shall appear to be contrary to the decisions we have cited". Thus the decisions of the Apostolic See are put on a very different level from the views of St. Augustine, just as that saint always drew a sharp distinction between the resolutions of African councils or the extracts from the Fathers, on the one hand, and the decrees of Popes Innocent and Zosimus on the other.

Three years later a famous document on tradition and its use emanated from the Lerinese school, the "Commonitorium" of St. Vincent. He wholeheartedly accepted the letter of Pope Celestine, and he quoted it as an authoritative and irresistible witness to his own doctrine that where *quod ubique*, or *universitas*, is uncertain, we must turn to *quod semper*, or *antiquitas*. Nothing could be more to his purpose than the pope's: "Desinat incessere novitas vetustatem". The oecumenical Council of Ephesus had been held in the same year that Celestine wrote. Its Acts were before St. Vincent, and it is clear that he looked upon both pope and council as decisive authorities. It was necessary to establish this, before turning to his famous canon, *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*—otherwise *universitas, antiquitas, consensus*. It was not a new criterion, else it would have committed suicide by its very expression. But never had the doctrine been so admirably phrased, so limpidly explained, so adequately exemplified. Even the law of the evolution of dogma is defined by Vincent in language which can hardly be surpassed for exactness and vigour. St. Vincent's triple test is wholly misunderstood if it is taken to be the ordinary rule of faith. Like all Catholics he took the ordinary rule to be the living magisterium of the Church, and he assumes that the formal decision in cases of doubt lies with the Apostolic See, or with a general council. But cases of doubt arise when no such decision is forthcoming. Then it is that the three tests are to be applied, not simultaneously, but, if necessary, in succession.

When an error is found in one corner of the Church, then the first test, *universitas, quod ubique*, is an unanswerable refutation, nor is there any need to examine further (iii, 7, 8). But if an error attacks the whole Church, then *antiquitas, quod semper* is to be appealed to, that is, a consensus existing before the novelty arose. Still, in the previous period one or two teachers, even men of great fame, may have erred. Then we betake ourselves to *quod ab omnibus, consensus*, to the many against the few (if possible to a general council; if not, to an examination of writings). Those few are a trial of faith "ut tentet vos Dominus Deus vester" (Deut., xiii, 1 sqq.). So Tertullian was a *magna tentatio*; so was Origen—indeed the greatest temptation of all. We must know that whenever what is new or unheard before is introduced by one man beyond or against all the saints, it pertains not to religion but to temptation (xx, 49). Who are the "Saints" to whom we appeal? The reply is a definition of "Fathers of the Church" given with all St. Vincent's inimitable accuracy: "Inter se majorem consulat interrogetque sententias, eorum dumtaxat qui, diversis licet temporibus et locis, in unius tamen ecclesie Catholicae communione et fide permanentes, magistri probabiles exstiterunt; et quicquid non unus aut duo tantum, sed omnes pariter uno eodemque consensu aperte, frequenter, perseveranter tenuisse, scripsisse, docuisse cognoverit, id sibi quoque intelligat absque ulla dubitatione credendum" (iii, 8). This unambiguous sentence defines for us what is the right way of appealing to the Fathers, and the italicized words perfectly explain what is a "Father": "Those alone who, though in diverse times and places, yet persevering in the communion and faith of the one Catholic Church, have been approved teachers."

The same result is obtained by modern theologians, in their definitions; e. g. Fessler thus defines what constitutes a "Father": (1) orthodox doctrine and learning; (2) holiness of life; (3) (at the present day) a certain antiquity. The criteria by which we judge whether a writer is a "Father" or not are: (1) citation by a general council, or (2) in public Acts of popes addressed to the Church or concerning Faith; (3) encomium in the Roman Martyrology as "sanctitate et doctrina insignis"; (4) public reading in Churches in early centuries; (5) citation, with praise, as an authority as to the Faith by one of the more celebrated Fathers. Early authors, though belonging to the Church, who fail to reach this standard are simply ecclesiastical writers ("Patrologia", ed. Jungmann, ch. i, §11). On the other hand, where the appeal is not to the authority of the writer, but his testimony is merely required to the belief of his time, one writer is as good as another, and if a Father is cited for this purpose, it is not as a Father that he is cited, but merely as a witness to facts well known to him. For the history of dogma, therefore, the works of ecclesiastical writers who are not only not approved, but even heretical, are often just as valuable as those of the Fathers. On the other hand, the witness of one Father is occasionally of great weight for doctrine when taken singly, if he is teaching a subject on which he is recognized by the Church as an especial authority, e. g., St. Athanasius on the Divinity of the Son, St. Augustine on the Holy Trinity, etc. There are a few cases in which a general council has given approbation to the work of a Father, the most important being the two letters of St. Cyril of Alexandria which were read at the Council of Ephesus. But "the authority of single Fathers considered in itself", says Franzelin (De Traditione, thesis xv), "is not infallible or peremptory; though piety and sound reason agree that the theological opinions of such individuals should not be treated lightly, and should not without great caution be interpreted in a sense which clashes with the common doctrine of other Fathers." The reason is plain enough; they were holy men, who are not to be presumed to have intended to swerve from the doctrine of the Church, and their doubtful utterances are therefore to be taken in the best sense of which they are capable. If they cannot be explained in an orthodox sense, we have to admit that not the greatest is immune from ignorance or accidental error or obscurity. But on the use of the Fathers in theological questions, the article TRADITION and the ordinary dogmatic treatises on that subject must be consulted, as it is proper here only to deal with the historical development of their use. The subject was never treated as a part of dogmatic theology until the rise of what is now commonly called "Theologia fundamentalis", in the sixteenth century, the founders of which are Melchior Canus and Bellarmine. The former has a discussion of the use of the Fathers in deciding questions of faith (De locis theologicis, vii). The Protestant Reformers attacked the authority of the Fathers. The most famous of these opponents is Dallaus (Jean Daillé, 1594-1670, "Traité de l'emploi des saints Pères", 1632; in Latin "De usu Patrum", 1656). But their objections are long since forgotten.

Having traced the development of the use of the Fathers up to the period of its frequent employment, and of its formal statement by St. Vincent of Lerins, it will be well to give a glance at the continuation of the practice. We saw that, in 431, it was possible for St. Vincent (in a book which has been most unreasonably taken to be a mere polemic against St. Augustine—a notion which is amply refuted by the use made in it of St. Celestine's letter) to define the meaning and method of patristic appeals. From that time onward they are very common. In the Council of Ephesus, 431, as St. Vincent points out, St. Cyril presented a series of quotations from the Fathers, τῶν ἀγιωτάτων καὶ



*Christianity . . . Nicene Period* (2 vols., London, 1893); KIRCHER, *Gesch. der altchristlichen Litt. in den ersten 3 Jahrh.* (Freiburg im Br. and Leipzig, 1895-7); tr. GILLET (New York, 1897)—this is the best modern German Prot. history. The following consists of materials: A. HARNACK, *Geschichte der altchr. Litt. bis Eusebius*, I, *Die Ueberlieferung* (Leipzig, 1893; this vol. enumerates all the known works of each writer, and all ancient references to them, and notices the MSS.); II, 1 (1897), and II, 2 (1904), *Die Chronologie*, discussing the date of each writing; the latter Greek period is dealt with by KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litt. 527-1453* (2nd ed. with assistance from EHRHARD, Munich, 1897). The following collected series of studies must be added: *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Litt.*, ed. VON GEHARDT AND A. HARNACK (1st series, 15 vols., Leipzig, 1883-97, 2nd series, *Neue Folge*, 14 vols., 1897-1907, in progress)—the editors are now HARNACK AND SCHMIDT; ROBINSON, *Texts and Studies* (Cambridge, 1891—in progress); EHRHARD AND MÜLLER, *Strassburger theologische Studien* (12 vols., Freiburg im Br., 1894—in progress); EHRHARD AND KIRSCH, *Forschungen zur christl. Litt. und Dogmengeschichte* (7 vols., Paderborn, in progress); *La Pensée chrétienne* (Paris, in progress); *Studi e Testi* (Vatican press, in progress). Cf histories of development of dogma, HARNACK, *Dogmengeschichte* (3 vols., 3rd ed., 1894-7, a new ed. is in the press; French tr., Paris, 1898; Engl. tr., 7 vols., Edinburgh, 1894-9), a very clever and rather "viewy" work; LOOFS, *Leitfaden zum Studium der D. G.* (Halle, 1889; 3rd ed., 1893); SEEBERG, *Lehrb. der D. G.* (2 vols., Erlangen, 1895), conservative Protestant; IDEM, *Grundriss der D. G.* (1900; 2nd ed., 1905), a smaller work; SCHWANE, *Dogmengeschichte*, Catholic (2nd ed., 1892, etc.; French tr., Paris, 1903-4); BETHUNE-BAKER, *Introduction to early History of Doctrine* (London, 1903); TIXERONT, *Histoire des Dogmes*: I, *La théologie anti-nicéenne* (Paris, 1905—excellent); and others.

**PHILOLOGICAL.**—On the common Greek of the early period see MOULTON, *Grammar of N. T. Greek*: I, *Prolegomena* (3rd ed., Edinburgh, 1900), and references; on the literary Greek, A. D. 1-250, SCHMID, *Der Atticismus von Dion. Hal. bis auf den zweiten Philostratus* (4 vols., Stuttgart, 1887-9); THUMB, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus* (Strasbourg, 1901). Besides the *Thesaurus* of STEPHANUS (latest ed., 8 vols., fol., Paris, 1831-65) and lexicons of classical and Biblical Greek, special dictionaries of later Greek are DU CANGE, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* (2 vols., Lyons, 1688, and new ed., Breslau, 1890-1); SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, 116-1100* (3rd ed., New York, 1888); words wanting in Stephanus and in Sophocles are collected by KUMANUDES (Σ. Α. Κουμανούδης), *Συναγωγή λεγόντων ἀλλογραφιστῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐλληνικοῖς λεξικοῖς* (Athens, 1883); general remarks on Byzantine Greek in KRUMBACHER, *op. cit.* On patristic Latin, KOFFMANN, *Gesch. des Kirchenlateins*: I, *Entstehung . . . bis auf Augustinus-Hieronymus* (Breslau, 1879-81); NORDEN, *Die antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1898), II; there is an immense number of studies of the language of particular Fathers [e. g. HOPPE on Tertullian (1897); WATSON (1896) and BAYARD (1902) on Cyprian; GOELTZER on Jerome (1884); REGNER on Augustine (1886), etc.], and indices latinatis to the volumes of the *Vienna Corpus PP. lat.*; TRAUBE, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lat. Phil. des Mittelalters*, I (Munich, 1906); much will be found in *Archiv für lat. Lexicographie*, ed. WÖLFELIN (Munich, began 1884).

**TRANSLATIONS.**—*Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church*, translated by members of the English Ch. (by PUSEY, NEWMAN, etc.), (45 vols., Oxford, 1832—). ROBERTS AND DONALDSON, *The Ante-Nicene Christian Library* (24 vols., Edinburgh, 1866-72; new ed. by COXE, Buffalo, 1884-6, with RICHARDSON's excellent *Bibliographical Synopsis* as a Suppl., 1887); SCHAFF AND WACE, *A Select Library of Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers of the Chr. Ch.*, with good notes (14 vols., Buffalo and New York, 1886-90, and 2nd series, 1900, in progress).

**ENCYCLOPEDIAS AND DICTIONARIES.**—SUCIER, *Thesaurus ecclesiasticus, e patribus graecis ordine alphabetico exhibens quaecumque phrases, ritus, dogmata, haereses et hujusmodi alia spectant* (2 vols., Amsterdam, 1682; again 1728; and Utrecht, 1746); HOFFMANN'S, *Bibliographisches Lexicon der gesammten Litt. der Griechen* (3 vols., 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1838-45); the articles on early Fathers and heresies in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (8th ed.) are, many of them, by Harnack and still worth reading; WETZER AND WELTE, *Kirchenlex.*, ed. HERGENROTHER, and then by KAULEN and others, 12 vols., one vol. of index (Freiburg im Br., 1882-1903); HERZOG, *Realencyklopädie für prot. Theol. und Kirche*, 3rd ed. by HAUCK (21 vols., 1896-1908); VACANT AND MANGENOT, *Dict. de Théol. cath.* (Paris, in progress); CABROL, *Dict. d'archéologie chr. et de liturgie* (Paris, in progress); BAUDRILLART, *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclésiastiques* (Paris, in progress); SMITH AND WACE, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, is very full and valuable (4 vols., London, 1877-87).

**GENERAL BOOKS OF REFERENCE.**—ITTIG, *De Bibliothecis et Catalogis Patrum*, gives the contents of the older collections of Fathers which were enumerated above (Leipzig, 1707); IDEM, *Schediasma de auctoribus qui de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis egerunt* (Leipzig, 1711); DOWLING, *Nutitia scriptorum SS. PP. . . . qua in collectionibus Anecdotorum post annum MDCC in lucem editis continentur* (a continuation of ITTIG'S *De Bibl. et Cat.*, Oxford, 1839); an admirable modern work is EHRHARD, *Die altchristliche Litt. und ihre Erforschung seit 1830*: I, *Allgemeine Uebersicht*, 1880-4 (Freiburg im Br., 1894); II, *Ante-Nicene Litt.*, 1884-1900 (1900); the bibliographies in the works of HARNACK and of BARDENHEWER (see above) are excellent; for Ante-Nicene period, RICHARDSON, *Bibliographical Synopsis* (in extra vol. of Ante-Nicene Fathers, Buffalo, 1887); for the whole period, CHEVALIER, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen-âge*: *Bio-bibliographie* gives names of persons (2nd ed., Paris,

1905-07); *Topo-bibliographie* gives names of places and subjects (2nd ed., Paris, 1894-1903); progress each year is recorded in HOLTZMANN AND KRÜGER'S *Theologischer Jahresbericht* from 1881; KROLL AND GURLITT, *Jahresbericht für klassische Altertumswissenschaft* (both Protestant); BÜHLMAYER, *Hagiographischer Jahresbericht* for 1904-6 (Kempten and Munich, 1908). A very complete bibliography appears quarterly in the *Revue d'hist. eccl.* (Louvain, since 1900), with index at end of year; in this publ. the names of all *Reviews* dealing with patristic matters will be found.

JOHN CHAPMAN.

**Fathers of the Faith of Jesus.** See PAPPANARISTS.

**Fathers of the Holy Sepulchre.** See HOLY SEPULCHRE, FATHERS OF THE.

**Fathers of the Oratory.** See ORATORIAN.

**Faunt, LAWRENCE ARTHUR**, a Jesuit theologian; b. 1554; d. at Wilna, Poland, 28 February, 1590-91. After two years at Merton College, Oxford (1568-70) under the tuition of John Potts, a well-known philosopher, he went to the Jesuit college at Louvain where he took his B.A. After some time spent in Paris he entered the University of Munich under the patronage of Duke William of Bavaria, proceeding M.A. The date of his entrance into the Society of Jesus is disputed, some authorities giving 1570, others 1575, the year in which he went to the English College, Rome, to pursue his studies in theology. It is certain, however, that on the latter occasion he added Lawrence to his baptismal name, Arthur. He was soon made professor of divinity and attracted the favourable attention of Gregory XIII, who, on the establishment of the Jesuit college at Posen in 1581, appointed him rector. He was also professor of Greek there for three years, of moral theology and controversy for nine more, and was held in highest repute among both ecclesiastical and secular authorities. His chief theological works are: "De Christi in terris Ecclesia, quænam et penes quos existat" (Posen, 1584); "Cænæ Lutheranorum et Calvinistarum oppugnatio ac Catholicæ Eucharistia defensio" (Posen, 1586); "Apologia libri sui de invocatione ac veneratione Sanctorum" (Cologne, 1589).

COOPER in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s. v.; GILLOW, *Bibl. Dict. Eng. Cath.* s. v.; HURTER, *Nomenclator*.

F. M. RUDGE.

**Fauriel, CHARLES-CLAUDE**, historian, b. at St-Etienne, France, 27 October, 1772; d. at Paris, 15 July, 1844. He studied first at the Oratorian College of Tournon, then at Lyons. He served in the army of the Pyrénées-Orientales. Under the Directory Fouché, an ex-Oratorian, attached him to his cabinet as private secretary. Under the Empire, he refused office in order to devote all his time to study. Fauriel adopted the new ideas of the Philosophers and the principles of the Revolution, but repudiated them in part in the later years of his life. He was an intense worker and knew Greek, Latin, Italian, German, English, Sanskrit, and Arabic. It was he who made the merits of Ossian and Shakespeare known to the French public, and spread in France the knowledge of German literature, which had been previously looked upon as unimportant. He was one of the first to investigate Romance literature, and the originality of his views in this direction soon popularized this new study. He also gathered the remnants of the ancient Basque and Celtic languages. The first works he published were a translation of "La Parthénée" (Paris, 1811), an idyllic epic by the Danish poet, Baggensen, and of the tragedy of his friend Manzoni, "Il Conte di Carmagnola" (Paris, 1823). The numerous linguistic and archaeological contributions which he wrote for various magazines won for him a great reputation among scholars; it was said of him that "he was the man of the nineteenth century who put in circulation the most ideas, inaugurated the greatest number of branches of study, and gathered the greatest number of new



army in Italy. To conciliate the King, Julius made d'Amboise "Legate a latere" for the whole of France, a most exceptional honour. Cardinal d'Amboise held his high office in Church and State till his death, which took place at the convent of the Celestins in Lyons, 25 May, 1510. He has a splendid tomb in the Cathedral of Rouen.

LEGENDRE, *Vie du cardinal d'Amboise* (Rouen, 1726); MONTBARD, *Le cardinal G. d'Amboise, ministre de Louis XII* (Limoges, 1879); d'AMBOISE, *Lettres au roi Louis XII* (Brussels, 1712).

F. P. HAVEY.

**Ambronay**, OUR LADY OF, a sanctuary of the Blessed Virgin at Ambronay, France, regarded as one of the two cradles of devotion to Our Lady in the Diocese of Belley. The original church was founded by recluses in the seventh century, and having been destroyed by the Saracens, was rebuilt (c. 803) by St. Barnard (778-842), together with the famous monastery of the same name. About the middle of the thirteenth century the church was reconstructed on a grander scale, and still remains, in spite of the ravages of 1793, one of the most imposing monuments of the diocese, remarkable for its windows, sacristy, altar, and spiral staircase. The façade of one of the naves dates from the ninth century.

Acta SS., 23 Jan.; LEROY, *Histoire des pèlerinages de la Sainte Vierge en France* (Paris, 1875), II, 185.

F. M. RUDGE.

**Ambros**, AUGUST WILHELM, historian of music and art critic, one of the greatest in modern times, b. at Mauth, near Prague, in Bohemia, 17 November, 1816; d. in Vienna, 28 June, 1876. Although destined for the profession of law, in which he obtained the doctor's degree, and advanced to the point of becoming Councillor of State, he studied music seriously and under the best auspices. He was soon appointed a member of the board of governors of the Royal Conservatory at Prague, and became active as a musical critic. At this period of his career Ambros wrote several overtures for orchestra and a "Stabat Mater". As a composer he reflected very strongly the influence of Robert Schumann. Lacking the vital spark of originality, his compositions have not survived him. He became generally known as an art critic through his book "Die Grenzen der Musik und Poesie", written in reply to Edward Hanslick's treatise "Vom Musikalisch-Schönen". The latter assumed a materialistic basis for the art of music, defining musical forms as being nothing more than "sounding arabesques". Ambros's work defines what can be expressed by means of music, and what needs one of the other arts for its manifestation. In this remarkable book the author not only lays down those principles of Catholic philosophy in the light of which he judges the art works of the past and present, but he also displays that extensive knowledge of the architecture, the sculpture, the painting, and the literature of all schools and nations, their inter-relation and common origin which at once attracted the attention of the scientific world. With every new work of Ambros, such as "Kulturhistorische Bilder aus dem Musikleben der Gegenwart", "Bunte Blätter" and numerous magazine articles, his reputation increased, until the Breslau publisher Leuckart (now in Leipzig) induced him to write a complete history of music. Ambros embraced with alacrity this great opportunity for, as he put it, "rendering a service to science and art." The result was the greatest historical work on the art of music in existence. Beginning with the music of antiquity in the first volume, the second is devoted to the Middle Ages, the third to the Netherland school, and the fourth deals with Palestrina and the transition to the moderns. This history, revealing the great artistic past of the Church, appeared at the time of the revival brought about by

the publication of Proske's "Musica Divina", and gave tremendous impetus to the movement. Proske made the treasures of polyphonic art accessible, and Ambros told of their origin. Aside from the permanent historical value of his life work, Ambros has rendered the Catholic cause untold service by vindicating the past, and by proclaiming with a powerful pen and with vast erudition sound philosophic principles in the midst of a well-nigh all-pervading pantheism. Ambros died before completing the fourth volume of his history. Otto Kade published, in 1882, a fifth volume consisting of musical illustrations collected from the historian's literary remains, and W. Langhans has brought the history up to date, without, however, showing Ambros's acumen or soundness. It should be mentioned that Ambros, while holding his official positions in Prague and, after 1872, in Vienna, as an officer of the Department of Justice, professor at the Conservatory, and private tutor to Prince Rudolf, was given leave of absence six months in the year, and provided with the means to enable him to visit the principal libraries of Europe in search of material for his great work.

RIEMANN, *Musiklexikon*; KORNMEYER, *Lexikon der kirchlichen Tonkunst*.

JOSEPH OTTEN.

**Ambrose**, SAINT, Bishop of Milan from 374 to 397; b. probably 340, at Trier, Arles, or Lyons; d. 4 April, 397. He was one of the most illustrious Fathers and Doctors of the Church, and fitly chosen,



ST. AMBROSE FROM A MURAL PAINTING, CASTLE OF KARLSFELD, BOHEMIA

together with St. Augustine, St. John Chrysostom, and St. Athanasius, to uphold the venerable Chair of the Prince of the Apostles in the tribune of St. Peter's at Rome. The materials for a biography of the Saint are chiefly to be found scattered through his writings, since the "Life" written after his death by his secretary, Paulinus, at the suggestion of St. Augustine, is extremely disappointing. Ambrose was descended from an ancient Roman family, which, at an early period, had embraced Christianity, and numbered among its scions both Christian martyrs and high officials of State. At the time of his birth his father, likewise named Ambrosius, was Prefect of Gallia, and as such ruled the present territories of France, Britain, and Spain, together with Tingitana



in Africa. It was one of the four great prefectures of the Empire, and the highest office that could be held by a subject. Trier, Arles, and Lyons, the three principal cities of the province, contend for the honour of having given birth to the Saint. He was the youngest of three children, being preceded by a sister, Marcellina, who became a nun, and a brother Satyrus, who, upon the unexpected appointment of Ambrose to the episcopate, resigned a prefecture in order to live with him and relieve him from temporal cares. About the year 354 Ambrosius, the father, died, whereupon the family removed to Rome. The saintly and accomplished widow was greatly assisted in the religious training of her two sons by the example and admonitions of her daughter, Marcellina, who was about ten years older than Ambrose. Marcellina had already received the virginal veil from the hands of Liberius, the Roman Pontiff, and with another consecrated virgin lived in her mother's house. From her the Saint imbibed that enthusiastic love of virginity which became his distinguishing trait. His progress in secular knowledge kept equal pace with his growth in piety. It was of extreme advantage to himself and to the Church that he acquired a thorough mastery of the Greek language and literature, the lack of which is so painfully apparent in the intellectual equipment of St. Augustine and, in the succeeding age, of the great St. Leo. In all probability the Greek Schism would not have taken place had East and West continued to converse as intimately as did St. Ambrose and St. Basil. Upon the completion of his liberal education, the Saint devoted his attention to the study and practice of the law, and soon so distinguished himself by the eloquence and ability of his pleadings at the court of the praetorian prefect, Anicius Probus, that the latter took him into his council, and later obtained for him from the Emperor Valentinian the office of consular governor of Liguria and Æmilia, with residence in Milan. "Go", said the prefect, with unconscious prophecy, "conduct thyself not as a judge, but as bishop". We have no means of ascertaining how long he retained the civic government of his province; we know only that his upright and gentle administration gained for him the universal love and esteem of his subjects, paving the way for that sudden revolution in his life which was soon to take place. This was the more remarkable, because the province, and especially the city of Milan, was in a state of religious chaos, owing to the persistent machinations of the Arian faction.

**BISHOP OF MILAN.**—Ever since the heroic Bishop Dionysius, in the year 355, had been dragged in chains to his place of exile in the distant East, the ancient chair of St. Barnabas had been occupied by the intruded Cappadocian, Auxentius, an Arian filled with bitter hatred of the Catholic Faith, ignorant of the Latin language, a wily and violent persecutor of his orthodox subjects. To the great relief of the Catholics, the death of the petty tyrant in 374 ended a bondage which had lasted nearly twenty years. The bishops of the province, dreading the inevitable tumults of a popular election, begged the Emperor Valentinian to appoint a successor by imperial edict; he, however, decided that the election must take place in the usual way. It devolved upon Ambrose, therefore, to maintain order in the city at this perilous juncture. Proceeding to the basilica in which the disunited clergy and people were assembled, he began a conciliatory discourse in the interest of peace and moderation, but was interrupted by a voice (according to Paulinus, the voice of an infant) crying, "Ambrose, Bishop". The cry was instantly repeated by the entire assembly, and Ambrose, to his surprise and dismay, was unanimously pronounced elected. Quite apart from any supernatural intervention, he was the only logical

candidate, known to the Catholics as a firm believer in the Nicene Creed, unobnoxious to the Arians, as one who had kept aloof from all theological controversies. The only difficulty was that of forcing the bewildered consular to accept an office for which his previous training nowise fitted him. Strange to say, like so many other believers of that age, from a misguided reverence for the sanctity of baptism, he was still only a catechumen, and by a wise provision of the canons ineligible to the episcopate. That he was sincere in his repugnance to accepting the responsibilities of the sacred office, those only have doubted who have judged a great man by the standard of their own pettiness. Were Ambrose the worldly-minded, ambitious, and scheming individual they choose to paint him, he would have surely sought advancement in the career that lay wide open before him as a man of acknowledged ability and noble blood. It is difficult to believe that he resorted to the questionable expedients mentioned by his biographer as practised by him with a view to undermining his reputation with the populace. At any rate his efforts were unsuccessful. Valentinian, who was proud that his favourable opinion of Ambrose had been so fully ratified by the voice of clergy and people, confirmed the election and pronounced severe penalties against all who should abet him in his attempt to conceal himself. The Saint finally acquiesced, received baptism at the hands of a Catholic bishop, and eight days later, 7 December, 374, the day on which East and West annually honour his memory, after the necessary preliminary degrees was consecrated bishop.

He was now in his thirty-fifth year, and was destined to edify the Church for the comparatively long space of twenty-three active years. From the very beginning he proved himself to be that which he has ever since remained in the estimation of the Christian world, the perfect model of a Christian bishop. There is some truth underlying the exaggerated eulogy of the chastened Theodosius, as reported by Theodoret (v, 18), "I know no bishop worthy of the name, except Ambrose". In him the magnanimity of the Roman patrician was tempered by the meekness and charity of the Christian saint. His first act in the episcopate, imitated by many a saintly successor, was to divest himself of his worldly goods. His personal property he gave to the poor; he made over his landed possessions to the Church, making provision for the support of his beloved sister. The self-devotion of his brother, Satyrus, relieved him from the care of the temporalities, and enabled him to attend exclusively to his spiritual duties. In order to supply the lack of an early theological training, he devoted himself assiduously to the study of Scripture and the Fathers, with a marked preference for Origen and St. Basil, traces of whose influence are repeatedly met with in his works. With a genius truly Roman, he, like Cicero, Virgil, and other classical authors, contented himself with thoroughly digesting and casting into a Latin mould the best fruits of Greek thought. His studies were of an eminently practical nature; he learned that he might teach. In the exordium of his treatise, "De Officiis", he complains that, owing to the suddenness of his transfer from the tribunal to the pulpit, he was compelled to learn and teach simultaneously. His piety, sound judgment, and genuine Catholic instinct preserved him from error, and his fame as an eloquent expounder of Catholic doctrine soon reached the ends of the earth. His power as an orator is attested not only by the repeated eulogies, but yet more by the conversion of the skilled rhetorician Augustine. His style is that of a man who is concerned with thoughts rather than words. We cannot imagine him wasting time in turning an elegant phrase. "He was one of those",



says St. Augustine, "who speak the truth, and speak it well, judiciously, pointedly, and with beauty and power of expression" (De doct. christ., iv, 21).

**HIS DAILY LIFE.**—Through the door of his chamber, wide open the livelong day, and crossed unannounced by all, of whatever estate, who had any sort of business with him, we catch a clear glimpse of his daily life. In the promiscuous throng of his visitors, the high official who seeks his advice upon some weighty affair of state is elbowed by some anxious questioner who wishes to have his doubts removed, or some repentant sinner who comes to make a secret confession of his offences, certain that the Saint "would reveal his sins to none but God alone" (Paulinus, Vita, xxxix). He ate but sparingly, dining only on Saturdays and Sundays, and festivals of the more celebrated martyrs. His long nocturnal vigils were spent in prayer, in attending to his vast correspondence, and in penning down the thoughts that had occurred to him during the day in his oft-interrupted readings. His indefatigable industry and methodical habits explain how so busy a man found time to compose so many valuable books. Every day, he tells us, he offered up the Holy Sacrifice for his people (*pro quibus ego quotidie instauro sacrificium*). Every Sunday his eloquent discourses drew immense crowds to the Basilica. One favourite topic of his was the excellence of virginity, and so successful was he in persuading maidens to adopt the religious profession that many a mother refused to permit her daughters to listen to his words. The saint was forced to refute the charge that he was depopulating the empire, by quaintly appealing to the young men as to whether any of them experienced any difficulty in finding wives. He contends, and the experience of ages sustains his contention (De Virg., vii) that the population increases in direct proportion to the esteem in which virginity is held. His sermons, as was to be expected, were intensely practical, replete with pithy rules of conduct which have remained as household words among Christians. In his method of biblical interpretation all the personages of Holy Writ, from Adam down, stand out before the people as living beings, bearing each his distinct message from God for the instruction of the present generation. He did not write his sermons, but spoke them from the abundance of his heart; and from notes taken during their delivery he compiled almost all the treatises of his that are extant.

**AMBROSE AND THE ARIANS.**—It was but natural that a prelate so high-minded, so affable, so kind to the poor, so completely devoting his great gifts to the service of Christ and of humanity, should soon win the enthusiastic love of his people. Rarely, if ever, has a Christian bishop been so universally popular, in the best sense of that much abused term, as Ambrose of Milan. This popularity, conjoined with his intrepidity, was the secret of his success in routing enthroned iniquity. The heretical Empress Justina and her barbarian advisers would many a time fain have silenced him by exile or assassination, but, like Herod in the case of the Baptist, they "feared the multitude". His heroic struggles against the aggressions of the secular power have immortalized him as the model and forerunner of future Hildebrands, Becketts, and other champions of religious liberty. The elder Valentinian died suddenly in 375, the year following the consecration of Ambrose, leaving his Arian brother Valens to scourge the East, and his oldest son, Gratian, to rule the provinces formerly presided over by Ambrosius, with no provision for the government of Italy. The army seized the reins and proclaimed emperor the son of Valentinian by his second wife, Justina, a boy four years old. Gratian good-naturedly acquiesced, and assigned to his half-brother the

sovereignty of Italy, Illyricum, and Africa. Justina had prudently concealed her Arian views during the lifetime of her orthodox husband, but now, abetted by a powerful and mainly Gothic faction at court, proclaimed her determination to rear her child in that heresy, and once more attempt to Arianize the West. This of necessity brought her into direct collision with the Bishop of Milan, who had quenched the last embers of Arianism in his diocese. That heresy had never been popular among the common people; it owed its artificial vitality to the intrigues of courtiers and sovereigns. As a preliminary to the impending contest, Ambrose, at the request of Gratian, who was about to lead an army to the relief of Valens, and wished to have at hand an antidote against Oriental sophistry, wrote his noble work, "De Fide ad Gratianum Augustum", afterwards expanded, and extant in five books. The first passage at arms between Ambrose and the Empress was on the occasion of an episcopal election at Sirmium, the capital of Illyricum, and at the time the residence of Justina. Notwithstanding her efforts, Ambrose was successful in securing the election of a Catholic bishop. He followed up this victory by procuring, at the Council of Aquileia (381), over which he presided, the deposition of the only remaining Arianizing prelates of the West. Palladius and Secundianus, both Illyrians. The battle royal between Ambrose and the Empress, in the years 385, 386, has been graphically described by Cardinal Newman in his "Historical Sketches". The question at issue was the surrender of one of the basilicas to the Arians for public worship. Throughout the long struggle Ambrose displayed in an eminent degree all the qualities of a great leader. His intrepidity in the moments of personal danger was equalled only by his admirable moderation; for, at certain critical stages of the drama one word from him would have hurled the Empress and her son from their throne. That word was never spoken. An enduring result of this great struggle with despotism was the rapid development during its course of the ecclesiastical chant, of which Ambrose laid the foundation. Unable to overcome the fortitude of the Bishop and the spirit of the people, the court finally desisted from its efforts. Ere long it was forced to call upon Ambrose to exert himself to save the imperilled throne.

Already he had been sent on an embassy to the court of the usurper, Maximus, who in the year 383 had defeated and slain Gratian, and now ruled in his place. Largely through his efforts an understanding had been reached between Maximus and Theodosius, whom Gratian had appointed to rule the East. It provided that Maximus should content himself with his present possessions and respect the territory of Valentinian II. Three years later Maximus determined to cross the Alps. The tyrant received Ambrose unfavourably and, on the plea, very honourable to the Saint, that he refused to hold communion with the bishops who had compassed the death of Priscillian (the first instance of capital punishment inflicted for heresy by a Christian prince) dismissed him summarily from his court. Shortly after, Maximus invaded Italy. Valentinian and his mother fled to Theodosius, who took up their cause, defeated the usurper, and put him to death. At this time Justina died, and Valentinian, by the advice of Theodosius, abjured Arianism and placed himself under the guidance of Ambrose, to whom he became sincerely attached. It was during the prolonged stay of Theodosius in the West that one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of the Church took place: the public penance inflicted by the Bishop and submitted to by the Emperor. The long-received story, set afoot by the distant Theodoret, which extols the Saint's firmness at the expense



of his equally pronounced virtues of prudence and meekness—that Ambrose stopped the Emperor at the porch of the church and publicly upbraided and humiliated him—is shown by modern criticism to have been greatly exaggerated. The emergency called into action every episcopal virtue. When the news reached Milan that the seditious Thessalonians had killed the Emperor's officials, Ambrose and the council of bishops, over which he happened to be presiding at the time, made an apparently successful appeal to the clemency of Theodosius. Great was their horror, when, shortly after, Theodosius, yielding to the suggestions of Rufinus and other courtiers, ordered an indiscriminate massacre of the citizens, in which seven thousand perished. In order to avoid meeting the blood-stained monarch or offering up the Holy Sacrifice in his presence, and, moreover, to give him time to ponder the enormity of a deed so foreign to his character, the Saint, pleading ill-health, and sensible that he exposed himself to the charge of cowardice, retired to the country, whence he sent a noble letter "written with my own hand, that thou alone mayst read it", exhorting the Emperor to repair his crime by an exemplary penance. With "religious humility", says St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, V, xxvi), Theodosius submitted; "and, being laid hold of by the discipline of the Church, did penance in such a way that the sight of his imperial loftiness prostrated made the people who were interceding for him weep more than the consciousness of offence had made them fear it when enraged". "Stripping himself of every emblem of royalty", says Ambrose in his funeral oration (c. 34), "he publicly in church bewailed his sin. That public penance, which private individuals shrink from, an Emperor was not ashamed to perform; nor was there afterwards a day on which he did not grieve for his mistake." This plain narrative, without theatrical setting, is much more honourable both to the Bishop and his sovereign.

**LAST DAYS OF AMBROSE.**—The murder of his youthful ward, Valentinian II, which happened in Gaul, May, 393, just as Ambrose was crossing the Alps to baptize him, plunged the Saint into deep affliction. His eulogy delivered at Milan is singularly tender; he courageously described him as a martyr baptized in his own blood. The usurper Eugenius was, in fact, a heathen at heart, and openly proclaimed his resolution to restore paganism. He reopened the heathen temples, and ordered the famous altar of Victory, concerning which Ambrose and the prefect Symmachus had maintained a long and determined literary contest, to be again set up in the Roman senate chamber. This triumph of paganism was of short duration. Theodosius in the spring of 394 again led his legions into the West, and in a brief campaign defeated and slew the tyrant. Roman heathenism perished with him. The Emperor recognized the merits of the great Bishop of Milan by announcing his victory on the evening of the battle and asking him to celebrate a solemn sacrifice of thanksgiving. Theodosius did not long survive his triumph; he died at Milan a few months later (January, 395) with Ambrose at his bedside and the name of Ambrose on his lips. "Even while death was dissolving his body", says the Saint, "he was more concerned about the welfare of the churches than about his personal danger". "I loved him, and am confident that the Lord will hearken to the prayer I send up for his pious soul" (*In obitu Theodosii*, c. 35). Only two years elapsed before a kindly death reunited these two magnanimous souls. No human frame could long endure the incessant activity of an Ambrose. One instance, recorded by his secretary, of his extraordinary capacity for work is significant. He died on Good Friday. The following day five bishops found difficulty in baptizing

the crowd to which he had been accustomed to administer the sacrament unaided. When the news spread that he was seriously ill, Count Stilicho, "fearing that his death would involve the destruction of Italy", despatched an embassy, composed of the chief citizens, to implore him to pray God to prolong his days. The response of the Saint made a deep impression on St. Augustine: "I have not so lived amongst you, that I need be ashamed to live; nor do I fear to die, for we have a good Lord". For several hours before his death he lay with extended arms in imitation of his expiring Master, who also appeared to him in person. The Body of Christ was given him by the Bishop of Vercelli, and, "after swallowing It, he peacefully breathed his last". It was the fourth of April, 397. He was interred as he had desired, in his beloved basilica, by the side of the holy martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius, the discovery of whose relics, during his great struggle with Justina, had so consoled him and his faithful adherents. In the year 835 one of his successors, Angilbert II, placed the relics of the three saints in a porphyry sarcophagus under the altar, where they were found in 1864. The works of St. Ambrose were issued first from the press of Froben at Basle, 1527, under the supervision of Erasmus. A more elaborate edition was printed in Rome in the year 1580 and following. Cardinal Montalto was the chief editor until his elevation to the papacy as Sixtus V. It is in five volumes and still retains a value owing to the prefixed "Life" of the Saint, composed by Baronius. Then came the excellent Maurist edition published in two volumes at Paris, in 1686 and 1690; reprinted by Migne in four volumes. The career of St. Ambrose occupies a prominent place in all histories, ecclesiastical and secular, of the fourth century. Tillemont's narrative, in the tenth volume of his "Memoirs", is particularly valuable. The question of the genuineness of the so-called eighteen Ambrosian Hymns is of secondary importance. The great merit of the Saint in the field of hymnology is that of laying the foundations and showing posterity what ample scope there existed for future development.

**WRITINGS OF SAINT AMBROSE.**—The special character and value of the writings of St. Ambrose are at once tangible in the title of Doctor of the Church, which from time immemorial he has shared in the West with St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory. He is an official witness to the teaching of the Catholic Church in his own time and in the preceding centuries. As such his writings have been constantly invoked by popes, councils, and theologians; even in his own day it was felt that few could voice so clearly the true sense of the Scriptures and the teaching of the Church (St. Augustine, *De doctrinâ christi*, IV, 46, 48, 50). Ambrose is pre-eminently the ecclesiastical teacher, setting forth in a sound and edifying way, and with conscientious regularity, the deposit of faith as made known to him. He is not the philosophic scholar meditating in silence and retirement on the truths of the Christian Faith, but the strenuous administrator, bishop, and statesman, whose writings are only the mature expression of his official life and labours. Most of his writings are really homilies, spoken commentaries on the Old and New Testaments, taken down by his hearers, and afterwards reduced to their present form, though very few of these discourses have reached us exactly as they fell from the lips of the great bishop. In Ambrose the native Roman genius shines out with surpassing distinctness; he is clear, sober, practical, and aims always at persuading his hearers to act at once on the principles and arguments he has laid down, which affect nearly every phase of their religious or moral life. "He is a genuine Roman in whom the ethico-practical note is always dominant. He had neither time



nor liking for philosophico-dogmatic speculations. In all his writings he follows some practical purpose. Hence he is often content to reproduce what has been already treated, to turn over for another harvest a field already worked. He often draws abundantly from the ideas of some earlier writer, Christian or pagan, but adapts these thoughts with tact and intelligence to the larger public of his time and his people. In formal perfection his writings leave something to be desired; a fact that need not surprise us when we recall the demands on the time of such a busy man. His diction abounds in unconscious reminiscences of classical writers, Greek and Roman. He is especially conversant with the writings of Vergil. His style is in every way peculiar and personal. It is never wanting in a certain dignified reserve; when it appears more carefully studied than is usual with him, its characteristics are energetic brevity and bold originality. Those of his writings that are homiletic in origin and form betray naturally the great oratorical gifts of Ambrose; in them he rises occasionally to a noble height of poetical inspiration. His hymns are a sufficient evidence of the sure mastery that he possessed over the Latin language." (Bardenhewer, *Les pères de l'église*, Paris, 1898, 736-737; cf. Pruner, *Die Theologie des heil. Ambrosius*, Eichstadt, 1864.) For convenience sake his extant writings may be divided into four classes: exegetical, dogmatic, ascetico-moral, and occasional. The exegetical writings, or scripture-commentaries deal with the story of Creation, the Old Testament figures of Cain and Abel, Noe, Abraham and the patriarchs, Elias, Tobias, David and the Psalms, and other subjects. Of his discourses on the New Testament only the lengthy commentary on St. Luke has reached us (*Expositio in Lucam*). He is not the author of the admirable commentary on the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul known as "Ambrosiaster". Altogether these Scripture commentaries make up more than one half of the writings of Ambrose. He delights in the allegorico-mystical interpretation of Scripture, i. e. while admitting the natural or literal sense he seeks everywhere a deeper mystic meaning that he converts into practical instruction for Christian life. In this, says St. Jerome (Ep. xli) "he was a disciple of Origen, but after the modifications in that master's manner due to St. Hippolytus of Rome and St. Basil the Great". He was also influenced in this direction by the Jewish writer Philo to such an extent that the much corrupted text of the latter can often be successfully corrected from the echoes and reminiscences met with in the works of Ambrose. It is to be noted, however, that in his use of non-Christian writers the great Doctor never abandons a strictly Christian attitude (cf. Kellner, *Der heilige Ambrosius als Erklärer des Alten Testaments*, Ratisbon, 1893).

The most influential of his ascetico-moral writings is the work on the duties of Christian ecclesiastics (*De officiis ministrorum*). It is a manual of Christian morality, and in its order and disposition follows closely the homonymous work of Cicero. "Nevertheless", says Dr. Bardenhewer, "the antithesis between the philosophical morality of the pagan and the morality of the Christian ecclesiastic is acute and striking. In his exhortations, particularly, Ambrose betrays an irresistible spiritual power" (cf. R. Thamin, *Saint Ambroise et la morale chrétienne au quatrième siècle*, Paris, 1895). He wrote several works on virginity, or rather published a number of his discourses on that virtue, the most important of which is the treatise "On Virgins" addressed to his sister Marcellina, herself a virgin consecrated to the divine service. St. Jerome says (Ep. xxii) that he was the most eloquent and exhaustive of all the exponents of virginity, and this judgment expresses yet the opinion of the Church. The genu-

ineness of the touching little work "On the Fall of a Consecrated Virgin" (*De lapsu virginis consecratae*) has been called in question, but without sufficient reason. Dom Germain Morin maintains that it is a real homily of Ambrose, but like so many more of his so-called "books", owes its actual form to some one of his auditors. His dogmatic writings deal mostly with the divinity of Jesus Christ and of the Holy Ghost, also with the Christian sacraments. At the request of the young Emperor Gratian (375-383) he composed a defence of the true divinity of Jesus Christ against the Arians, and another on the true divinity of the Holy Ghost against the Macedonians; also a work on the Incarnation of Our Lord. His work "On Penance" was written in refutation of the rigoristic tenets of the Novatians and abounds in useful evidences of the power of the Church to forgive sins, the necessity of confession and the meritorious character of good works. A special work on Baptism (*De sacramento regenerationis*), often quoted by St. Augustine, has perished. We possess yet, however, his excellent treatise (*De Mysteriis*) on Baptism, Confirmation, and the Blessed Eucharist (P. L. XVI, 417-462), addressed to the newly-baptized. Its genuineness has been called in doubt by opponents of Catholic teaching concerning the Eucharist, but without any good reason. It is highly probable that the work on the sacraments (*De Sacramentis*, *ibid.*) is identical with the preceding work; only, says Bardenhewer, "indiscreetly published by some hearer of Ambrose". Its evidences to the sacrificial character of the Mass, and to the antiquity of the Roman Canon of the Mass are too well known to need more than a mention; some of them may easily be seen in any edition of the Roman Breviary (cf. Probst, *Die Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts und deren Reform*, Münster, 1893, 232-239). The correspondence of Ambrose includes but a few confidential or personal letters; most of his letters are official notes, memorials on public affairs, reports of councils held, and the like. Their historical value is, however, of the first order, and they exhibit him as a Roman administrator and statesman second to none in Church or State. If his personal letters are unimportant, his remaining discourses are of a very high order. His work on the death (378) of his brother Satyrus (*De excessu fratris sui Satyri*) contains his funeral sermon on this brother, one of the earliest of Christian panegyrics and a model of the consolatory discourses that were henceforth to take the place of the cold and inept declamations of the Stoics. His funeral discourses on Valentinian II (392), and Theodosius the Great (395) are considered models of rhetorical composition; (cf. Villemain, *De l'éloquence chrétienne*, Paris, ed. 1891); they are also historical documents of much importance. Such, also, are his discourse against the Arian intruder, Auxentius (*Contra Auxentium de basilicis tradendis*) and his two discourses on the finding of the bodies of the Milanese martyrs Gervasius and Protasius.

Not a few works have been falsely attributed to St. Ambrose; most of them are found in the Benedictine edition of his writings (reprinted in Migne) and are discussed in the manuals of patrology (e. g. Bardenhewer). Some of his genuine works appear to have been lost, e. g. the already mentioned work on baptism. St. Augustine (Ep. 31, 8) is loud in his praise of a (now lost) work of Ambrose written against those who asserted an intellectual dependency of Jesus Christ on Plato. It is not improbable that he is really the author of the Latin translation and paraphrase of Josephus (*De Bello Judaico*), known in the Middle Ages as *Hegesippus* or *Egesippus*, a distortion of the Greek name of the original author (*Ἰωσὴπος*). Mommsen denies (1890) his authorship of the famous Roman law text known as the "Lex



Ambrosius, St. Ep. & Milan (Rollero, Piero ed)  
Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam  
(Torino, universita' di Torino) 1953



Dei, sive Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio", an attempt to exhibit the law of Moses as the historical source whence Roman criminal jurisprudence drew its principal dispositions.

*Editions of his Writings.*—The literary history of the editions of his writings is a long one and may be seen in the best lives of Ambrose. Erasmus edited them in four tomes at Basle (1527). A valuable Roman edition was brought out in 1580, in five volumes, the result of many years' labour; it was begun by Sixtus V. while yet the monk Felice Peretti. Prefixed to it is the life of St. Ambrose composed by Baronius for his Ecclesiastical Annals. The excellent Benedictine edition appeared at Paris (1686-90) in two folio volumes; it was twice reprinted at Venice (1748-51, and 1781-82). The latest edition of the writings of St. Ambrose is that of P. A. Ballerini (Milan, 1878) in six folio volumes; it has not rendered superfluous the Benedictine edition of du Frische and Le Nourry. Some writings of Ambrose have appeared in the Vienna series known as the "Corpus Scriptorum Classicorum Latinorum" (Vienna, 1897-1907). There is an English version of selected works of St. Ambrose by H. de Romestin in the tenth volume of the second series of the "Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers" (New York, 1896). A German version of selected writings in two volumes, executed by Fr. X. Schulte, is found in the "Bibliothek der Kirchenväter" (Kempten, 1871-77).

For exhaustive bibliographies see CHEVALIER, *Répertoire, etc.*, *Bio-Bibliographie* (2d ed., Paris, 1905), 186-89; BARDENHEWER, *Patrologie* (2d ed., Freiburg, 1901), 387-89.

DE BROGLIE, *Les Saints: St. Ambroise* (Paris, 1899); DAVIES in *Dict. of Christ. Bio.*, s. v., I, 91-99; BUTLER, *Lives of the Saints*, 7 Dec.; FOERSTER, *Ambrosius, Bischof von Mailand* (Halle, 1884); IHM, *Studia Ambrosiana* (Leipzig, 1890); FERRARI, Introduction to *Ambrosiana*, a collection of learned studies published (Milan 1899) on occasion of the fifteenth centenary of his death. The introduction mentioned is by CARDINAL FERRARI, Archbishop of Milan.

JAMES F. LOUGHLIN.

**Ambrose of Camaldoli, SAINT**, an Italian theologian and writer, b. at Portico, near Florence, 16 September, 1386; d. 21 October, 1439. His name was Ambrose Traversari. He entered the Order of the Camaldoli when fourteen and became its General in 1431. He was a great theologian and writer, and knew Greek as well as he did Latin. These gifts and his familiarity with the affairs of the Church led Eugenius IV to send him to the Council of Basle, where Ambrose strongly defended the primacy of the Roman pontiff and adjured the council not to rend asunder Christ's seamless robe. He was next sent by the Pope to the Emperor Sigismund to ask his aid for the pontiff in his efforts to end this council, which for five years had been trenching on the papal prerogatives. The Pope transferred the council from Basle to Ferrara, 18 September, 1437. In this council, and later, in that of Florence, Ambrose by his efforts, and charity toward some poor Greek bishops, greatly helped to bring about a union of the two Churches, the decree for which, 6 July, 1439, he was called on to draw up. He died soon after. His works are a treatise on the Holy Eucharist, one on the Procession of the Holy Ghost, many lives of saints, a history of his generalship of the Camaldolites. He also translated from Greek into Latin a Life of Chrysostom (Venice, 1533); the Spiritual Wisdom of John Moschus; the Ladder of Paradise of St. John Climacus (Venice, 1531), P. G., LXXXVIII. He also translated four books against the errors of the Greeks, by Manuel Kalekas, Patriarch of Constantinople, a Dominican monk (Ingolstadt, 1608), P. G., CLII, col. 13-661, a work known only through Ambrose's translation. He also translated many homilies of St. John Chrysostom; the treatise of the pseudo-Denis the Areopagite on the celestial hierarchy; St. Basil's treatise on virginity; thirty-

nine discourses of St. Ephrem the Syrian, and many other works of the Fathers and writers of the Greek Church. Dom Mabillon's "Letters and Orations of St. Ambrose of Camaldoli" was published at Florence, 1759. St. Ambrose is honoured by the Church on 20 November.

HEFELE, *Hist. of Councils* (Edinburgh, 1871-96), XI, 313 sqq., 420, 463; MANSI, *Coll. sacr. concil.* (Venice, 1788, 1792, 1798), XXIX, XXX, XXXI; EHRHARD in KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 2d ed. (Munich, 1897), 111-144.

JOHN J. A' BECKET.

**Ambrose of Sienna, BLESSED**, b. at Sienna, 16 April, 1220, of the noble family of Sansedoni; d. at Sienna, in 1286. When about one year old, Ambrose was cured of a congenital deformity, in the Dominican church of St. Mary Magdalene. As a child and youth he was noted for his love of charity, exercised especially towards pilgrims, the sick in hospitals, and prisoners. He entered the novitiate of the Dominican convent in his native city at the age of seventeen, was sent to Paris to continue his philosophical and theological studies under Albert the Great, and had for a fellow-student there St. Thomas Aquinas. In 1248 he was sent with St. Thomas to Cologne where he taught in the Dominican schools. In 1260 he was one of the band of missionaries who evangelized Hungary. In 1266 Sienna was put under an interdict for having espoused the cause of the Emperor Frederick II, then at enmity with the Holy See. The Siennese petitioned Ambrose to plead their cause before the Sovereign Pontiff, and so successfully did he do this that he obtained for his native city full pardon and a renewal of all her privileges. The Siennese soon cast off their allegiance; a second time Ambrose obtained pardon for them. He brought about a reconciliation between Emperor Conrad of Germany and Pope Clement IV. About this time he was chosen bishop of his native city, but he declined the office. For a time, he devoted himself to preaching the Crusade; and later, at the request of Pope Gregory X, caused the studies which the late wars had practically suspended to be resumed in the Dominican convent at Rome. After the death of Pope Gregory X he retired to one of the convents of his order, whence he was summoned by Innocent V and sent as papal legate to Tuscany. He restored peace between Venice and Genoa and also between Florence and Pisa. His name was inserted in the Roman Martyrology in 1577. His biographers exhibit his life as one of perfect humility. He loved poverty, and many legends are told of victories over carnal temptations. He was renowned as an apostolic preacher. His oratory, simple rather than elegant, was most convincing and effective. His sermons, although once collected, are not now extant.

Acta SS., March, III, 180-251; CROISSANT, *Synopsis vite et miraculorum B. Ambrosii Senensis* (Brussels, 1623); QUÉTIF ET ECHARD, *SS. Ord. Præd.* (Paris, 1719); RAYNALDUS, *Annales* (1648), ad ann. 1286; TOURON, *Histoire des hommes illustres de l'ordre de S. Dominique* (Paris, 1743).

E. G. FITZGERALD.

**Ambrosian Basilica.**—This basilica was erected at Milan by its great fourth-century bishop, St. Ambrose, and was consecrated in the year 386. The basilica in its present form was constructed at four different periods, three of which fall within the ninth, the fourth in the twelfth, century. Yet, although the original church has disappeared, a fairly good idea of its appearance in the time of its founder may be obtained from references in the writings of St. Ambrose, supplemented by modern researches. The original edifice, like the great churches of Rome of the same epoch, belonged to the basilica type; it consisted of a central nave lighted from the clerestory, two side aisles, an apse, and an atrium. Investigations made in 1864 have established the fact



281.1  
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Funeral orations of St. Greg. Nazianzen & Saint A.,  
trans. Leo P McCauley ; NY Father of the Church Inc., 1953

281.1  
S373  
F  
V.42

A.  
Hexameron, Paradise, & Cain & Able, Trans. John L. Savage  
NY; Father of the Church 1961

281.1  
S373  
F  
V.44

A.  
theological & dogmatic works. Trans Royce. Deferrari  
Washington, Catholic Univ. of America Press 1963

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Dudelen, Frederick Homes,  
Life & Times of St. A. Oxford, The Clarendon Press 1934  
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Paredi Angelo DB  
St. A, his life & times Trans. M. Joseph Costelloe  
Notre Dame, Ind, UND Press, 1964

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P33

BV  
630.2 UCI  
M613

Marino, Claudio, St. A.  
Church & state in the teaching of St. A.  
Trans. M. Joseph Costelloe (Washington, Catholic Univ. of Am.  
Press) 1969 280p.

Camplin Edmund, Ambrosius (?) EO. & trans. Jos. Simois  
(Assen, Van Nostrand) 1970

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translated all ninety *Homilies in Mt.* between 419 and 421. Only the first twenty-five homilies are extant or printed, and those only in the older Latin editions of Chrysostom, e.g. *Joh. Chrysostomi Opera omnia latina*, Paris 2, 1581, 1/226. Montfaucon and after him MG 58, 975/1058 only gives the translation of the first eight homilies on Matthew. Chrysostom's seven panegyrics on St. Paul were not translated into Latin before 419-20 (MG 50, 471/514). It cannot be stated with certainty that Anianus translated also other homilies of Chrysostom, as is almost generally believed.

Altaner, HJB 61, 1941, 215/7. Honigsmann, ST 173, 54/8 (A. perhaps identical with Greek-writing author of a world chronicle, cf. § 49, 13).

10. Despite much research the writings of the British bishop, Fastidius (first half of fifth century), who is counted among the Pelagians, cannot so far be identified with certainty. According to Gemadins, *Vir. ill.* 56, he composed two treatises (*De vita christiana* and *De viduitate servanda*). Here, too, the studies of De Plinval have created a new situation.

C. P. Caspari, *Briefe, Abhandl. u. Pred. aus den letzten 2 Jahrh. des christl. Altertums* . . ., Christiania 1890, 352/75. J. Kirmser, *Das Eigentum des Fastidius im pelag. Schrifttum*, 1938 (K. assigns 12 works to him); cf. Altaner, TR 1938, 232/5 and esp. De Plinval, RHE 1939, 5/21.

11. Julian, Bishop of Aeclanum near Benevent. Expelled from his see in 418, he lived for a time with Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius in Constantinople; d. c. 454. He was the systematic exponent of Pelagianism, in his exegesis he followed the Antiochene school. Very large portions of his treatise *Ad Turbantium* (four books) and *Ad Florum* (eight books) have come down to us through three treatises in which Augustine replied to him. Recently three exegetical writings have been assigned to him: the pseudo-Rufinian commentary on three Minor Prophets (ML 21); a commentary on Job ed. by A. Amelli, *Spicil. Casinense*, 3, I, 1897, 333/417, and also the commentary on the Psalms ed. by G. J. Ascoli, *Archivio glottologico ital.* 5, 1878/89, 8/610 may be

assigned to Julian, following Vaccari. Occasionally Julian has incorporated brief verbatim citations from Theodore of Mopsuestia's commentary on the Psalms. The exegesis of Ps. 16:11 ff. and even more that of Ps. 40:14 ff. may be considered a version of Theodore of Mopsuestia's Commentary on the Psalms (§ 68, 1). Morin stresses that Columbanus, too, influenced the shape of the commentary.

Forget, DTC 8, 1926/31; Hedde et Amann, *ibid.* 12, 702/7. Mg. by A. Bruckner, 1897; *Die 4 Buecher an Turbantius*, 1910. Devresse, DBSuppl 1, 1131 f.; RB 1928, 365 f. Hoyer, EE 1933, 405/14 (*Antioch. theoria*). Morin, RBn 1913, 1/24 (3 Minor Prophets). A. Vaccari, *Un commento a Giobbe di Giul. di Ecl.*, 1915; cf. D'Alès, RSR 1916, 311/24; Stiglmayr, ZKT 1919, 269/88 (against Vaccari). Vaccari, Misc. Amelli 1920, 43/51. — Vaccari, CC 1916, I, 578/96; Bi 1923, 337/51 and AL 1924, 185 (Ps. Comm.). Morin, RBn 1926, 164/77 (J. and Columba). R. I. Best, *The Comm. on the Psalms with Glosses in Old Irish Pres. in the Ambros. Libr.*, 1936; JTS 1938, 188/90; RBn 1940, 162 f. Vaccari, Misc. Mercati I, 175/98. Baxter, AL 21, 1949, 5/54 (J.'s Latin confirms his authorship of the commentaries on Job and Pss.).

### § 83. AMBROSE OF MILAN (339-97)

AMBROSE came from a noble Roman family and was probably born at Treves in 339, his father being *praefectus praetoria Galliarum*. After the latter's early death his mother returned to Rome with her three children. Here his sister Marcellina took the veil of consecrated virgins (v. supra § 78, 2); his brother Satyrus, who was a high state official for some time, had already died in 378. About 370 Ambrose, who had received a rhetorical and legal training, became *consularis Liguria et Aemiliae* with his official residence at Milan.

After the death of the Arian bishop, Auxentius (v. § 80, 3c), the episcopal election led to violent scenes between Catholics and Arians. When Ambrose in his consular capacity attempted to mediate, he was suddenly elected bishop by both parties, as if by higher intervention and despite his energetic resistance, for



he was only a catechumen at that time. He was consecrated bishop eight days after his baptism, probably on December 7, 374.

He first devoted himself to theological studies, especially to reading the Greek Fathers, under the direction of the priest Simplicianus who later became his successor. He distributed his considerable fortune among the poor and began to lead a strictly ascetical life. His house was always open to high and lowly alike, and he was constantly besieged by those seeking help. He had extraordinary success as a pulpit orator; cf. Augustine, *Conf.* 6, 4, 6.

He exercised a decisive influence especially on the ecclesiastical and political situation of his time. He fought fearlessly and unrelentingly for the exclusive rights of the Church against paganism, Arianism and other heresies, and not least for its freedom and autonomy in its relations with the secular power ("The Emperor is within the Church, not above the Church"; *Contra Aux.* 35).

It was due to him that the statue of the goddess of victory, which Gratian had removed from the council-room of the senate in 382, was not allowed to be restored, despite the efforts made by the pagan majority of the senate led by the rhetor Symmachus. He also succeeded in frustrating the attempts of the Arian-minded Empress-Mother Justina to give recognition to that heresy by letting the Arians have one of the Milan churches. It is due above all to his energy (Synods of Aquileia 381 and Rome 382) that Arianism was forced back especially in the Illyrian provinces. Ambrose, the friend and adviser of three emperors, was the first bishop to whom princes appealed to support their tottering throne (against the usurper Maximus and the Frank Arbogast). He won respect for the laws of the Church even from the great Theodosius I. When, in consequence of a revolt, the Emperor had ordered the massacre of 7000 people at Thessalonica (in 390), Ambrose wrote him a letter in which he frankly pointed out the greatness of his guilt and the necessity to expiate it.

Thereupon the Emperor submitted to public penance (*Ob. Theod.* 34; EH 624f.). When Theodosius died (395) Ambrose delivered the funeral oration. He himself died in 397; his body rests in the basilica of Milan. Feast day: December 7.

Ambrose was an outstanding personality of perfect purity and utter selflessness, which made a strong impression on all who came into contact with him. Beside Theodosius I, he was the most brilliant man of his time, one of the great minds whose work and thought later furnished essential material for the growing medieval culture.

It is astonishing that despite his extensive pastoral and teaching activity among his flock Ambrose should have found sufficient time to write so many books. It is true, most of them, especially the exegetical writings, grew out of his pastoral work. They are sermons which were made into books after having been but slightly revised; they have an edifying tendency. In his other writings, too, the pastoral and moral interest is uppermost. Ambrose was an authentically Roman, practical personality; though he had received a philosophical education he had neither time nor inclination, nor probably the intellectual equipment, for dogmatic speculation. Hence his moral and ascetical works show independence, whereas he is very dependent on the Greek Fathers in his Biblical and dogmatic writings. His language is frequently of oratorical vigour and poetic beauty, especially in the sermons, and is rich in allusions, especially to Roman classics (Virgil); but it can also be sententiously pithy and polished.

About 422 the cleric Paulinus, his former secretary who had emigrated to Africa, wrote an edifying *Vita s. Ambrosii* (ML 14, 27/46. M. S. Kaniecka, W 1928) at the suggestion of St. Augustine.

Ital. trans.: Mi 1930 (anonymous). Criticism of the *Vita*: G. Gruetzmacher in *Festg. A. Hauck* 1916, 77/84; J. R. Palanque, *S. Ambroise et l'empire rom.*, 1933, 409/16. Pellegrino, SC 1951, 151/60. On the apocr. *Libellus de benedictionibus patriarch.* cf. Wilmar, RBx 1920, 57/63.

Edd.: J. du Frisch and N. le Nourry, 2 vols., 1686/90. ML 14-17. Exeget.



*Deus creator omnium* (an evening hymn; *Conf.* 9, 12), *Aeterne rerum conditor* (a morning hymn; *Retract.* 1, 21), *Iam surgit hora tertia* (on Christ's death on the Cross; *De nat. et grat.*, c. 63), *Intende qui regis Israel* (a Christmas hymn; *Sermo* 372). At least eight more hymns may be assigned to Ambrose; Dreves considers fourteen, Walpole eighteen to be genuine; Simonetti thinks nine are genuine and four more probably genuine.

Ambrose also composed verse inscriptions, e. g. for the baptistry of the church of St. Thecla in Milan. On the so-called Ambrosian Hymn *Te Deum laudamus* v. infra § 84, 2; on the so-called *Symbolum Athanasianum* v. supra § 54, 20.

6. Spurious writings. *Hegesippus sive de bello Iudaico* is a Latin translation of the *Jewish War* of Flavius Josephus which originated towards the end of the fourth century and appeared anonymously. Morin thinks the *Res gestae Machabaeorum* mentioned in the Prologue of the work can be traced in a *Passio Machabaeorum* which has not yet been published. Dexter, the friend of St. Jerome, may be its author. The *Lex Dei sive Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collatio* has not been preserved complete; it is important for legal history and presents Roman Law as dependent on the O.T. law (c. 394-5); nothing certain can be affirmed about its author.

Mgg.: G. M. Dreves, *Ambr., der Vater des Kirchengesanges*, 1893. A. Steier, *Unters. ueber d. Echtheit der Hymnen des A.*, 1903. Ermoni, *DAL* 1, 1347/52 (hymns). P. Ramatschi, *Die Quellen von De fide ad Grat.*, thesis Br 1923. G. Mamone, *Did* 1924, F. 2, 3/164 (Letters). M. F. Barry, *The Vocabulary of the Moral-ascet. Works of St. A.*, W 1926. S. M. Adams, *The Latinity of the Letters of St. A.*, W 1927. M. Klein, *Meletemata Ambros.*, thesis Koenigsberg 1927 (*De Exaemeri fontibus*). M. Martin, *The Use of Indirect Discourse in the Works of St. A.*, W 1930. M. Carpaneto, *Did* 1930, F. 1, 35/156 (*opere oratorie*). M. D. Diederich, *Vergil in the Works of St. A.*, W 1931. M. T. Springer, *Nature-Imagery in the Works of St. A.*, W 1931. M. R. Delaney, *A Study of the Clausulae in the Works of St. A.*, W 1934. L. T. Phillips, *The . . . Clauses in the Works of St. A.*, W 1937. J. H. Gillis, *The Coordinating Particles . . .* (supr. 318). C. Favez, *La consolation lat. chrét.*, 1937. Muckle, *Mediaev. Stud.* 1, 1939, 68/80 (*De officiis*; Christianization of Lat.). Bardy, *RSR* 1940, 274/81 (A. as translator). Riposati, *S. Ambrogio nel XVI centenario*, 1940, 259/305 (*Lingua e stile*). M. Pellegrino, *La poesia crist. lat. dalle origini a S. Ambr.*, Tu 1947. I. Cazzaniga, *Note Ambrosiane. Appunti intorno allo stile delle omelie*

*virginali*, Varese 1948. On the chronology of the works cf. Palanque 1933, 435/79 and Dudden 1935 (supra § 83).

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### Points of Doctrine

After his baptism Ambrose worked out a system of Christian truths which was well balanced and essentially complete from the first. Basing himself on sources that were not always innocuous (Philo, Origen), he eliminated their errors with surprising surety of touch, while generously transmitting what was true, so that he became the best witness to the harmony of the Church's faith in East and West.

1. Trinity. Like Hilary he confesses the Nicene faith in Nicene, but also in other orthodox formulae (EP 1269). After Hilary he is the most important champion of orthodoxy against Arianism and Macedonianism. Ambrose teaches and constantly emphasizes the true divinity of the Holy Spirit and his complete equality with the other two Persons in the Trinity (*Spir. S.* 2, 11, 118). If he writes in *Spir. S.* 1, 11, 120: *Spiritus Sanctus procedit a Patre et Filio*, he understands the *procedere* in the sense of a *missio ad extra*. Ambrose did not discuss in detail the inner-Trinitarian procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son (*operatio ad intra*). Cf. Simonetti, *Maia* 7, 1954, 204/9.

2. Christology. Unlike Hilary (supra § 80), Ambrose teaches quite unequivocally the true humanity of Christ against Docetists, Manicheans and Apollinarians (EP 1267). Once (*Fide* 2, 8, 61) he speaks of the *persona hominis* (Christi), an echo of the Greek notion of *πρόσωπον* (v. supra § 56, 72), though he confesses that there is One in two natures, complete in both (*Excess. Sat.* 1, 12).

3. The angels are the organs that execute God's plan of salvation. There is a spiritual relationship between angels and men. The angels belong to the *City of God* (*domicilii caelestis habitaculum*; Ep. 76, 12); cf. Augustine's *Civitas Dei*. With Origen, Ambrose believes in guardian angels of individual churches and estates and seems also to assume the existence of guardian angels of individual men (*In Ps.* 37, 43; Ps. 38, 8).

4. Ambrose speaks explicitly of a sinful state inherited by every man which involves him in guilt (*noxiae conditionis hereditas*; Ps. 38, 29), hence children, too, must be baptized (EP 1324). The unbaptized man is organically united with the devil as his *membrum* and *semen*. In some passages, however, the idea of concupiscence and of an inherited inclination to sin is emphasized so strongly as if these were the essence of original sin (*Apol. David* 56). That which man inherited from Adam seems to be a *lubricum delinquendi* rather than a *peccatum*, for which we shall not be punished on the Day of Judgement (Ps. 48, 8). In *De Myst.* 6, 32 Ambrose even says that by baptism only the *propria*, in the footwashing the *hereditaria peccata* are washed away. The *Ob. Val.* 51/3 (EH 621/3) attests the baptism of desire.

5. Mariology. A confession of Mary's freedom from original sin is frequently found in the prayer at the end of Ambrose's exposition of Ps. 118 (*Exp. in Ps.* 118, 22, 30). Here Ambrose prays for a human existence (*suscipe me in carne, quae*) which, after the example of Mary, is to be *incorrupta (sc. caro) ab omni integra labe peccati*. But as the existence here cannot refer to freedom from original sin, Mary cannot here be meant to be the pattern that has not been disfigured by it; Ambrose here thinks only of Mary as the ideal free from all personal sins. He does not know a mariological interpretation of Gen. 3:15. The woman is Eve, mankind in general her posterity. Occasionally he also interprets this passage of Christ. Cf. L. Drewniac, *Die mariologische Deutung von Gen. 3:15*, Br 1934, 47.



6. The Mass. The word *missa* as a term for the worship of the faithful is first met in Ambrose, *Ep.* 20, 4. Augustine uses the word only once, in *Sermo* 49, 8, where it means the dismissal of the catechumens (*missio* = *dimissio*). Ambrose also affirms frequently and unequivocally the sacrificial character of the eucharist, e.g. *Ante agnus offerebatur, offerebatur et vitulus, nunc Christus offertur* (*Offic.* 1, 48, 238).

7. Penance. Ambrose attests the *una paenitentia*, i.e. the sacramental public penance which, according to primitive Christian practice, was permitted only once. He reproaches those who want to undergo penance more often; *quia sicut unum baptisma, ita una paenitentia, quae tamen publice agitur*. In principle he demands public penance also for secret grave sins (*occulta crimina* in the primitive Christian sense), naturally preceded by a secret confession before a priest. The second kind of penance of which Ambrose speaks is the private penance to be practised daily for the *delicta leviora*, which is performed without the mediation of the Church (*Paen.* 1, 16; 2, 10, 95; *EH* 598/603). Nothing can be deduced for the existence of ecclesiastical private penance from the much discussed information contained in Paulinus, *Vita Ambrosii* 39 (*EP* 2025).

8. The Roman Primacy. In the interest of Pope Damasus who was endangered by Ursinus, Ambrose writes to the Emperor Gratian: "Do not allow the head of the whole Roman world, the Roman Church and the most holy apostolic faith to be confused; for from there the rights of the venerable communion of the Church pass on to all (churches)" (*Ep.* 11, 4). He reports that before his baptism his brother Satyrus first made sure of the orthodoxy of the bishop whom he asked to give him the sacrament: *Percontatus ex eo (sc. episcopo) est, utrumnam cum episcopis catholicis hoc est cum Romana ecclesia conveniret* (*Exc. Satyr.* 1, 47). It is, however, characteristic for the history of the Biblical basis of the doctrine of the primacy how Ambrose regards Peter's confession at Caesa-

rea Philippi (Mt. 16, 15 ff.). Through his confession of Christ Peter had taken the first place, *primum egit, primum confessionis utique, non honoris, primum fidei, non ordinis* (*Incarnat.* 4, 32).

9. Heaven, purgatory, hell. The souls of all the departed must go through the flames of fire, even though it be John the beloved disciple (*Ps.* 118, *sermo* 20, 12); the just pass through them like Israel through the Red Sea, the infidels like Pharaoh, and for them the fire becomes *ultor ignis* of eternal duration. In the third category, that of the sinners, two groups are distinguished, according to whether the good or the evil works weigh more heavily in the scales of judgement. The second group suffers the fate of the unbelievers. For the first group the flames become a cleansing fire followed by paradise (*Ps.* 36 26; *Apol. David* 6, 24; *Ep.* 2, 14 16). Yet for the second group, too, Ambrose leaves open the possibility of salvation. He hopes for this; nevertheless he teaches nowhere the Origenistic *apocatastasis* for Christians who die in mortal sin (*Exc. Satyr.* 2, 116; *Ps.* 1, 54).

10. In the history of devotion Ambrose occupies a leading place. He is rightly called the "Patron of the veneration of Mary". He traces an ideal picture of the Virgin Mother of Christ and of her life as a school of virtue (*Lk.* 2, 1 ff.; *Virg.* 2, 2 6 ff.; *Inst. Virg.* 5 ff.); she is the new Eve who brings salvation and has defeated the devil (*Ep.* 63, 32; 49, 2). If he emphasizes Mary's complete sinlessness, this does not mean that he makes any statement about her freedom from original sin (*Inst. Virg.* 33; *Lk.* 10, 42; *Ps.* 118, *sermo* 22, 30). — He has also spoken about the veneration of angels, saints, martyrs and their relics with sometimes actually exuberant enthusiasm. He accords veneration to the cross and nails of Christ for the sake of Christ, to whom alone adoration is given; else it would be pagan superstition (*Ob. Theod.* 46). Ambrose ends his funeral orations with prayers of intercession for the dead for whom he offers the eucharistic sacrifice (*Ep.* 39, 4).

J. E. Niederhuber, *Die Lehre des hl. A. vom Reiche Gottes auf Erden*, 1904; *Die*



*Eschatologie des hl. A.*, 1907. S. Lisiecki, *Quid S. A. de ss. Euch. docuerit*, thesis Br 1910. J. Huhn, *Die Bedeutung d. Wortes Sacramentum bei d. Kirchenvater A.*, 1928; *Ursprung u. Wesen des Boesen u. der Suende nach d. Lehre des A.*, 1933. A. Pagnamenta, *La Mariologia di s. A.*, Mi 1932. Stelzenberger 1933, 234/42, 491/502 and freq. Rivière, RTA 1934, 349/67 (318; alleg. exegesis). Bandy, DS 1, 425/8. K. Schwerdt, *Stud. z. Lehre des hl. A. v. d. Person Christi*, 1937. Wilbrand, *Miss- u. Rel.wiss.* 1, 1938, 193/202 (pagan mission). Rivière, *RevSR* 1939, 1/23 (*rédemption*). Dudden, *St. A.* 2, 1935, 555/677 (A. as a theologian). K. Janssen, *Die Entstehung der Gnadlehre Augustins*, 1936, 5/24. M. Drzechnik, *Doctrina S. A.*, de Christo Deo-homine, Maribor 1938. J. Gapp, *La doctr. de l'union hypost. chez s. A.*, Issoudun 1938. J. Rimma, *Die Kirche als Corpus Christi, mysticum b. hl. A.*, R 1940. Spedalieri, CC 1940, 321/31 (*il sacerdozio*). Roberti, SC 1940, 140/59 (*il monachismo*). Tosio, *Jus. Pontif.* 1940, 65/74 (*De bello ac pace*). Citterio, SC 1940, 491/5 (*primato di S. Pietro*). G. Odoardi, *La dottr. della penitenza in S. A.*, R 1941. A. G. Rose, *Idee u. Gestalt der Kirche beim hl. A.*, thesis Br 1942. F. Meyer, *Seelsorge des hl. A. durch Formung christl. Bewusstseins* (acc. to the comm. on Lk.), R 1941. S. Ambrogio nel XVI Centenario della Nascita (1940) contains also the following contributions: Soranzo 1/15 (*A. e la Chiesa rom.*); Citterio 31/68 (*teologia della Chiesa*); Ceriani 159/207 (*spiritualità*); Franceschini 209/33 (*Verginità*); Rovighi 235/58 (*idee filosofiche*); D'Entèves 321/35 (*concezione del diritto*); Biondi 337/420 (*influenza sulla legislaz. relig.*); Maschi 421/30 (*lex natur.*); Dossetti 431/83 (*concetto giurid. dello "status religiosus"*); Violardo 485/512 (*sul diritto matrimon.*); Giacchi 513/31 (*dott. matrimon. di A. pr. Graziano*).

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RUO 1952, 104/26 (*Le Sacerdoce chrét.*). R. d'Izary, *La virginité sel. s. A.*, thesis Lyons 1952 (2 vols.). C. Morino, *Il ritorno al paradiso di Adamo in s. A.*, thesis Greg. R 1952. Baus, RQ 49, 1954, 21/55 (Origen and A.'s devotion to Christ). Taormina, *MiscStLca* 1954, 41/85 (A. and Plotinus). J. Huhn, *Das Geheimnis der Jungfrau Mutter Maria nach A.*, 1954; *Anima*, 1955, 136/50 (A. and pastoral care); *AugMag* 1, 221/39 (Mariology in A. and August.). Keseling, ZRGG 5, 1953 (family sense and patriotism in *De off.*). Michiels, QLP 1953, 109/14, 164/9 (*Initiation chrét. sel. s. A.*). Zonewski, *Annuaire de l'Acad. Théol.*, Sofia 4, 1954/55, 340/83 (views on social matters in A. and Aug.).

## § 84. AMBROSIASTER AND NICETA OF REMESIANA

1. FROM the time of Erasmus a *Commentary on Thirteen Pauline Epistles* (without Hebrews) going under the name of Ambrose has been called *Ambrosiaster* (= Pseudo-Ambrose). The work, which originated in Rome under Pope Damasus (366-84) is generally considered a first-class achievement. It gives a frequently penetrating exegesis which reveals the historical sense and is averse to all allegorical subtleties, without however entirely excluding types. It is an important witness to the pre-Jerome Latin Pauline text and to the pre-Augustinian exegesis of Paul.

The much discussed question of the authorship of the work has not yet been solved. One of the candidates is the Jew Isaac, who was converted and later relapsed into Judaism, notorious for his slanderous accusations against Pope Damasus (so Morin [1899], Wittig, Souter). The so-called *Fides Isaatis ex Iudaeo*, a short treatise on the Trinity and Incarnation, is preserved under his name. G. Morin, the author of this thesis, later proposed three other writers: the proconsul Hilarius Hilarius (1903), Evagrius of Antioch (1914; v. supra § 54, 18) and finally N. Aem. Dexter (1928; v. supra § 2).

The pseudo-Augustinian *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti* may also safely be assigned to *Ambrosiaster*; they treat 127 exegetical and dogmatic questions without any systematic arrangement. A second version of 150 *quaestiones* is held by Martini (against